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MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE GEORGE P. SHULTZ
THE SECRETARY OF STATE

THE HONORABLE DONALD T. REGAN
THE SECRETARY OF TREASURY

THE HONORABLE CASPAR W. WEINBERGER
THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

THE HONORABLE JOHN R. BLOCK
THE SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE

THE HONORABLE MALCOLM BALDRIGE
THE SECRETARY OF COMMERCE

THE HONORABLE JAMES B. EDWARDS
THE SECRETARY OF ENERGY

✓ THE HONORABLE WILLIAM J. CASEY
DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE

THE HONORABLE WILLIAM E. BROCK III
THE UNITED STATES TRADE REPRESENTATIVE

SUBJECT: Poland and the President's June 18 Decision
on Sanctions Extension

The President is concerned that in our presentation, both public and private, of the reasons underlying his June 18 decision on the extension of sanctions on oil and gas equipment for the Soviet Union, insufficient emphasis is being placed on the relationship of these measures to the situation in Poland. For this reason I wish to reiterate the key guidelines which should form the basis of our discussions with foreign governments and publics on the pipeline issue:

-- U.S. sanctions against Poland and the Soviet Union have been and will continue to be based on the course of events in Poland. The further extension or relaxation of these sanctions depends on the actions of the Polish regime;

-- If the Polish regime takes significant actions on the three stated Western goals for Poland, the United States is ready to respond with correspondingly significant relaxation of its sanctions;

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Review on July 30, 2002

Reason: NSC 1.13 (f)

NSC review completed.

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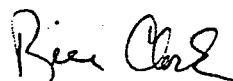
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-- Unified action by the Alliance on sanctions, based on the January 11 NAC principles, coupled with the positive humanitarian actions to help the Polish people directly, are the most effective means to reach our common goals;

-- We are not prepared to relax our sanctions, nor do we believe that any Ally should, in response to essentially cosmetic liberalization by the Polish regime. (S)

In reiterating these guidelines I am aware that there are other relevant and equally forceful points to be made in opposition to the Soviet pipeline project. The President has made it clear that the U.S. Government is opposed to the pipeline, but recognizes that in the final analysis the decision is up to the European governments concerned. (As you know, our opposition in principle to the pipeline project long pre-dated the Polish situation, it is the latter circumstance, however, which precipitated the President's concrete measures against it.) It is essential, however, that our concern for the human rights situation in Poland be understood as the central component of the considerations leading to the December 29 and June 18 sanctions decisions. (S)

FOR THE PRESIDENT:


William P. Clark

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